1: Gillin E-5 (1932-33)1936 SR9 Carib SR9

586 the latter uses the article in question he or she is overcome with
832 desire for the other.

587 A widow always marries her husband's brother or some member of his kin. If she does not, she risks the accusation that she killed her husband for the love of another man. A widower frequently, but not necessarily, marries his wife's sister.

592 The family is therefore composed of a man and his one or more
597 wives and their unmarried children. Each family has its own house and seldom shares a house with adult individuals other than the spouses and their unmarried children. No case was recorded of an adult male (with the exception of young suitors) occupying a house jointly with another adult male. If several adult women are living in the house they are always found to be wives or concubines of the man of the household. Children of deceased rela-
[582] tives are, however, often adopted. Practically every individual in the community over the age of about twenty is married or has
[736] definite plans to be married. Universal matrimony thus obviates dependency occasioned by old age as well as loneliness. Children of one or the other of the spouses by previous marriages may be included in the family group. If both parents of young children die, they are usually adopted by the maternal grandparents. The family, composed of spouses and their own and adopted children, is thus coterminous with the household.

595 A man may take additional wives if he can persuade their fathers that he can care for them. There seems to be little objection on the part of the brothers or kinsmen of the first wife, if she is not mistreated. Aside from the type of polygamy in which the several wives live in the same household, several cases were recorded of men who were maintaining two households, each in a separate settlement.

Within the household there exists no formal distinction between
(558) children of polygamous or subsequent marriages, and a child's position in the family depends largely upon its personality and age. The same is true of wives in polygamous families.

594 Three means of entrance to the family group are possible: birth, adoption, and marriage. A man is born into a household, and lives there until he is ready to marry, whereupon he establishes a household of his own. The position one occupies in the household group, therefore, depends upon whether the group in question

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going to Towakaima to carry supplies for me back to Sawari. 583
On the way to Towakaima he passed through Kurewa, made things up with his woman there, and during the rest of my stay in Sawari did not reappear. Caroline and her girls continued to live in the half-roofed house, doing their share of the field work, but depending for meat upon the efforts of Miller and Samuel.

Caroline and Elizabeth (the wife of Samuel) are not only sisters, 572
but also great chums. Elizabeth is probably five years younger 593
than Caroline, but both are buxom, lovers of a joke, and slightly lazy. They spend much of their time together, and their shrieking laughter can be heard almost any time of the day, if they are in the settlement, and late into the night. They are perfect foils for each other, Caroline loud and boisterous, Elizabeth quieter and cleverer. Few people I know consistently have as much fun together as Caroline and Elizabeth. Samuel, Elizabeth's husband, is her junior by perhaps ten years. He is shorter and considerably less bulky than she. Also he is quieter. But from all the signs, they are perfectly devoted to each other. Elizabeth has been living with Samuel more than a year. With them live her two little girls, Katrina and Mary, aged about five and seven respectively, children of her first (deceased) husband.

Samuel's brother Columbus has his own house on the other side 592
of Miller's establishment. He lives with Susan, a young girl not yet come to puberty. Susan receives help from the women of Miller's household in cooking and field work, in return for which Columbus assists Miller in field cutting, korial building, and shares his game with Miller's household.

Separated by a hedge of cotton bushes from the afore-men- 554
tioned households, stand the houses of David, his son Joseph; his 791
son-in-law Joseph, and his wife's sister Margaret, on the north side of the clearing. David is an old man possibly of sixty years who enjoys the double distinction of being the father-in-law of Miller and the piaiyen (or priest) of the village. He is also distinguished in the possession of a withered right arm, perhaps the result of early paralysis. (He says that he cannot remember a time when this arm was as large as the left one.) He has never been renowned for his physical strength or hunting ability, but is the village repository for such myths and legends as are extant in the group. For his learning and religious powers he is much respected.

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554 He formerly lived in Kwamata, but moved to Sawari some years
791 ago, when the strength of Miller's influence became apparent there. At the present time he does no hunting, depending upon his sons and sons-in-law for meat supply. His present wife, Christina, was a widow when he married her. She has grown children elsewhere by previous marriages, but no children by David.

• 592 In a separate house near David's lives Margaret, Christina's sister, perhaps three to five years younger than the latter. She has lived with men, but at the time of my arrival in Sawari was unattached. The reason assigned for this by informants was her physical unattractiveness. However that may be, about a month after my arrival, David's son (by a previous marriage) Joseph appeared at Sawari, having been driven out of Kwamata by the irate brother of his wife with whom he had quarrelled there. It was not long until he had built a house near David's, and just before I finally left Sawari, arrangements had been made for Margaret to move into his new house with him. Also living in David's house is his young son Frederick, a boy of about twelve years of age.

Near David's house is the dwelling occupied by his daughter, Cecelia, and her husband, Joseph, and their little girl, Edna, about two years old. Cecelia is perhaps twenty years of age and the most attractive woman of the settlement from the white man's point of view. That her charms are not altogether unappreciated
[554] by the Caribs is evident. Joseph, who is her senior by perhaps three or four years, is recognized as the most accomplished fiddle player of the community, and in this capacity officiates at all drinking sprees.

554 In Miller's clearing, taken as a whole, we may thus distinguish
621 two local groupings. The southern half of the clearing is occupied by the respective families of Miller, his kinsman Columbus, and two sisters, Elizabeth and Caroline. In the northern half of the clearing, separated from the southern half by a low barrier of bushes, are the household of David and those of his son, his daughter, and his wife's sister. Thus, while Miller and his household seem to hold the dominant social position in the clearing, David is a very close second in prestige. The social life of the clearing is most strongly influenced by these two men, each in his own way. And their respective influences in the life of the clearing are to a

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has lived here, while a short distance to the southeast of the present clearing lies his abandoned field. Only about a year previously did the other households which now occupy the clearing join with Cook, cooperate in the clearing of the present immense field, and take up their residences there. In this field each man has his own plot of ground, which his household cares for. But at the present time Cook's clearing has hardly yet become stabilized. The grouping of the houses here reflects no social division within the group itself, which is consistent with the fact that Cook's influence is supreme. Here the divisive factors of blood and personal prestige, which tended to set David's group apart from Miller's group in the latter's clearing, have practically no force. Cook's house, in the southeast corner of the clearing, happens to be the one which he has occupied for some years. The dwellings of the other households are scattered across the center of the field in easy access to their respective agricultural plots.

Our examination of household groupings thus far has given hints of divisive factors arising on the basis of blood, personality, and personal ability. The settlement itself is split into two large local groups, centering respectively about Miller and Cook. Miller's local group is further divided into two sections which center respectively about Miller and David. In each of these groupings there is a high correlation between the personal influence of the dominant character, his blood relationship with the members of the group centering about him, and the spatial grouping of the households concerned.

There remains the household of Edwin, located, as can be seen in Figure 9, about midway between the settlements of Miller and Cook. Oddly enough, Edwin's social position with reference to the two major local groups correlates remarkably with his spatial relation to them. Edwin is approximately the same age as Miller and Cook. He is a large man, easy going, capable, but given to excessive intoxication when the occasion presents itself. His wife, Lulu, is only slightly younger than he and has borne all his five children. Her blood relatives live at Towakaima and Sineparu. The oldest boy, Peter, is probably about sixteen years of age and is looking about for a wife. The oldest of the other four children is about eleven. Although Edwin is a distant parallel cousin of Miller, he divides his contacts equally between the latter

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592 571 and Cook. During the antagonism between the Miller and Cook settlements, Edwin visited both unconcernedly. At one time he assisted John Cook for several days in the making of a cassiri kanu, at another time he assisted Miller in the construction of a woodskin boat. In the meantime, he went about his own hunting and continued with the clearing of a field for his own exclusive use without apparently becoming embroiled in the disputes which engaged the attention of the Miller and Cook groups. Edwin's household, therefore, seems to be a unit to itself, friendly with all, but taking no sides in group rivalries. The blood ties of this household with that of Miller are apparently, as in the case of John, too remote to have much influence. Here again the personal factor seems to be present. Edwin is a man of the same age group as Miller and Cook; he feels capable of handling his affairs on the basis of age and experience, without the direction of either Miller or Cook. But, being easy-going by nature, he lacks qualities of leadership and responsibility which would draw about him a group of satellites, as has happened in the cases of Miller and Cook.

From our survey of household groupings the following factors affecting the organization of the settlement have emerged: personality, personal ability (including physical strength, mental alertness), blood relationship, and marriage relationship.

421 **Economic Factors in the Social Life.** The general rule regarding the ownership of property is strictly individualistic. A man owns his field, house, hunting and fishing equipment, canoes, ornaments, tools, raiment, and the game that he has bagged. A woman owns the implements which she uses in the field and house, the pottery, the basketry (which is made, however, by the men), her clothing, ornaments, and accessories. All personal property is held by individuals. Even children are the owners of ornaments, toys, and trinkets, and this ownership is respected by the elders, as I have discovered in acquiring specimens. In spite of individualism in ownership there is in fact a certain communism in practise. That is, members of the same household and settlement may borrow goods from each other with the owner's permission. Borrowing without permission is considered theft. (See Section on Crime and Punishment.) This communism of use means that the members of a larger household have a greater variety of goods at their command than the members of a small household, even though the

2: Adams E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1973 SR9 Carib SR9
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V

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION FOR SUBSISTENCE AND EMPLOYMENT

Although the resources for subsistence and the organization involved in exploiting them have changed, the household has remained the primary cooperative economic unit among the Upper Barama River Carib population. There is no land tenure, no accumulation of capital in any form, and no inheritance of any consequence. Thus, household composition and the relationships among households have conformed to the immediate situations affecting the problem of subsistence.

Subsistence in the Rain Forest

For the 1932-33 period, Gillin reports that a household was composed of a man and his wife or wives and their unmarried children. These children include their own and ones that have been adopted. A relative from the older generation might be absorbed as a dependent. Divorce or death could dissolve a household, the remaining members joining existing households or forming new households with available partners. There seems to have been universal marriage for everyone of reproductive age, making the household coterminous with the family (1936:80).

Households were settled in their cultivated fields. A house structure was commonly a pole frame covered with a roof thatched from various palm leaves. Dimensions varied from six to over thirty feet

175 342 (Gillin 1936:31-9). As a house became dilapidated, it would be used for cooking or storage purposes, and a new one built to support the hammocks of the various members of the household.

175 584 [582] Preparatory to a marriage, a young man was required to cut a field and build a house nearby and pass a hunting test given by the bride's family. This appears to have been a formality that finalized an agreeable relationship among all concerned (Gillin 1936:74-75).

175 591 [606] [851] At first, the young husband resided with his wife's family. During this time he cooperated actively with his wife's father and other male relatives still in the household. Expressive of the temporary nature of the extension of the family, the young man rendered his father-in-law deference, usually not talking to him directly but through his daughter. This period of matrilocal residence generally would end soon after the birth of a first child (Gillin 1936:97). The newly established household was then an autonomous unit.

175 476 571 621 [462] As for the cooperation among households, this principally involved men's activities, farm cutting, hunting, canoe building, house constructing, and the like. In these instances, cooperation is not necessary, but rather expedient. As a result, patterns of cooperation lacked permanence and explicitness. Friendships among men seem to have been the basis for recruiting work partners. Women cooperated as well, but their friendships had no consequences in social organization (Gillin 1936:136). The adult men moved their households about [592] freely to enter into associations with other men from households in the vicinity. In general, cooperation developed among "brothers," actual siblings and parallel cousins (Gillin 1936:97), and these 175 476 593 605 [591] kinsmen tended to settle near each other.

175 kinsmen tended to settle near each other. At times such as during
476 the field days held for poisoning a creek for fish, all the men and
593 women in one location would cooperate (Gillin 1936:11-12). Gillin
605 [621] reports that the extent of mutual cooperation among "parallel kinsmen" made these stronger bonds than that between a man and his son-in-law (1936:97), and aggregations of their households composed a settlement such as Savari.

175 At the time Gillin visited Savari, it was composed of three clear-
592 ings or aggregations of cooperating households. The largest of these,
621 John Miller's clearing, included seven adult men (1936:117-125).
[595] Miller, about forty, was prominent among them. He had had a previous marriage but currently had a new young wife and was acquiring her younger sister as well. His father-in-law was an old man, David. Two of Miller's widowed sisters had recently attracted into the group two brothers, Henry and Samuel. Their other brother, Colombus, with his child bride was also present. Two young men, Joseph, a son-in-law of David, and Joseph, a son of David, completed the group of men.
175 All of these had apportioned plots in a field Colombus and Miller
476 had originally cut and David and his son Joseph had enlarged. The
621 temporary partnership in fields was dissolving as the newcomers to Savari were establishing fields of their own (Gillin 1936:134). Other mutual assistance such as hunting and canoe building was conducted between various men in this clearing and those in the other clearings on an individual basis according to the inclinations and the sway of influence to which each man was subjected.

175 622 A headman was recognized in each settlement (John Miller in Sawari), but his authority rested on his influence. Aspects of personality, the number of relatives, as well as physical strength were factors in the choice of headman. Although the duties of headman lacked definition, for the most part they involved coalescing group opinion and action. All of this was done informally. Group action 175 627 would be taken against individuals who threatened the pattern of sharing resources and rendering assistance within the settlement. Ostracism, exile, or, more rarely, violence would be employed (Gillin 1934:337).

175 [648] [701] [622] At this time, the Upper Barama River Caribs constituted an indigenous population within a British colony. In this colonial environment, there was no organization among these Caribs for war or defense which would compel leadership (Gillin 1934:344). Dispersed in the 175 628 rain forest, remote from the center of European power, there was no other basis for unity among this population. Before extensive regional trade and a money economy were introduced by the mining companies, these dispersed settlements tended to be closed with regard to patterns of obtaining and sharing subsistence resources. Exchanges *177 621 among settlements involved shifts of personnel. Increasingly, the boundary of the resource sharing social unit has become constricted within the larger, more stabilized settlements around centralized networks of regional exchange.

Organization for Gold Mining

*179 592 464 In addition to centralizing settlements, employment and other market opportunities provided by gold mining activities from 1940 to

2: Adams E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1973 SR9 Carib SR9
(1932-1971) Barama River

*177 1969 have had consequences in the interrelationships among Carib
• 592 households. Cooperation within households developed as men were
464 first employed by porknockers. A young boy would accompany his father on such employment and to some extent share the uncertainty of his father's employment. Usually the father collected and managed the wages earned by his young son. Also, young unmarried brothers would work together during these early opportunities. However, this is still a recruiting of work partners from the existing household unit.

*177 As job opportunities became more substantial, the composition of
593 the household changed. The cooperation between father and son was
464 maintained as was that between father and son-in-law. This partner-
606 ship persisted beyond the son's or son-in-law's youth to his position as a married adult, himself a father of children. Employment opportunities held these trans-generational pairs together. The instrumental nature of friendship among brothers, real and classificatory, diminished as household members became allied by employment. The general emphasis on cooperating partners of the same age shifted to a trans-generational recruitment pattern. In contrast to extra-household, associational work relationships, the new work opportunities promoted father-son and father-son-in-law cooperative bonds. As males secured employment, they tended to disassociate from the pattern of sharing resources with a group of cognatic kinsmen. Thus, employment opportunities of any duration acted to stabilize partnerships within a household, and as a consequence, the presence of a son-in-law was no longer indicative of a transitional phase and a

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*177 464 592 structurally nascent family. Rather, the family became extended and the son-in-law or son and their wives and children remained as part of the family group.

*177 464 592 621 The residence pattern during the period of Amerindian employment by Baird reflects these strategies. During November 1969, just before In Time was abandoned, a survey of the residents in the area is available. In the close vicinity of the mine there were eight clearings. Three more were located nearby at Big Creek. The adult male residents and their kinship and work relationships are presented in Table 12. The kinship affiliations of all of these men are detailed in Figure 12.

In 1969, the residents of one clearing had recently moved to the Air Strip. This was the household of Baird's father-in-law. It was composed of an older man, sixty-five, and his son-in-law, thirty, and his son, twenty-five, along with their wives and children. These men had been steadily employed in Baird's mining activities.

Due to the difficulties which later closed the mine, temporary work had not been available for some time. Thus, the men remaining in residence had been steady workers for Baird. There is one exception. This is the largest clearing at Big Creek (cluster 11 in Figure 12), which is composed of a man, his two sons-in-law, and his son. Of this group, some were steady workers. Others were sporadic workers who maintained a subsistence cultivation in the bush. At this point in time, the larger number of men in one clearing also adds to an ambiguity with regard to identifying the household boundary and is indicative of transient aspects of organization common with fluctuating resources.

Among the other men in these households of miners, those not employed are either old enough to be retired from this work or too young to have begun an employment career. Thus, a household included up to three adult men in different stages of involvement with employment opportunities. The trans-generational recruitment of work partners is clear. As a pattern, the older men who had been employed for a substantial number of years attracted to their households sons and sons-in-law. The older men would seek employment on their behalf. An exception to father-son and father-son-in-law recruitment pattern is the man with a work partnership with his wife's younger brother (cluster 8 in Figure 12). In this case the age difference is still apparent. As a pattern, the younger partner was brought into an employment opportunity at an age when he was a dependent in an established miner's household. The younger man became another link in the client relationship the older man had established with Baird. Any further elaboration with regard to the pattern of life cycles of men or households under the circumstances of employment in mining was terminated with the cessation of In Time mine in 1969.

In any case, this household organization was not dictated by the nature of the work, but rather by the manner of securing and maintaining the work.[3] As is abundantly apparent from Figure 12, Baird's workers were close kinsmen. Nevertheless, with the limited number of jobs available, there was no opportunity for these men to use kinship ties to form any independent corporate organization. Rather, employment opportunities in the mining tended to eliminate economic cooperation between households by introducing an external broker between them.

*177 361 [476] 121 the retention of father and son and son-in-law bonds among workers, as well as by the centralization around the air strip. Temporary cooperation to aid relatives in settling in a new location is also a factor in the current residence situation. At this time little analysis can be made of the life cycles of family groups or of individuals. Data are available only on the first year of the resettlement around the air strip, a time of considerable change in the extent and nature of the external resources available in the Upper Barama River area. Family organization is responding to these new circumstances.

*177 464 The population in the satellite settlements, Baramita and Aranka, has had a different experience with the regional economy. Among these segments of the population, men have had little or no employment. The headman of Aranka worked about five separate one-year periods in his youth with porknockers. Another man from Aranka worked for two years at In Time while living with his father. Now he is one of the headman's sons-in-law. Also, men from Aranka have been employed from time to time by the Malaria Eradication Officer. For the most part, the populations in these settlements have maintained a subsistence adaptation to the rain forest. Their livelihoods have been supplemented by selling small amounts of local provisions for commercial items at the trade store. [438]

*177 592 621 The residence patterns in these satellite settlements are somewhat different and they also differ from that characteristic of the households at the Air Strip. At Baramita in 1971, there were five clearings. One was inhabited by a man and wife and their children. Two others were nuclear families recently extended by the addition of

sons-in-law. The fourth consisted of a man, about fifty, his wife and children and his old father and mother. Lastly, one man, also about fifty, has had his father-in-law with two adult sons and all their wives and children move into his cultivated field. This last residence situation had persisted for about two years when the Amerindian Captain called attention to it as a case of excessive exploitation.

Aranka, on the other hand, is outstanding in that one man maintains five wives who have had, to date, thirty-six children. He is the center of one large clearing with his various fathers-in-law and sons-in-law around him. In addition, two new clearings of Karisho people were being established at Aranka in the spring of 1971. One was inhabited by a nuclear family, another by a nuclear family extended by the wife's old father and his crippled wife. A young man who is deaf and dumb and moves about from relative to relative was also living in this last clearing. He is the old man's brother's son. To some extent, this residence pattern is the result of the abbreviation of the continual movement of households due to the advantageous location near the center of external resources, and the market opportunities at this center have tended to dissolve the ties of general reciprocity between men in different clearings as will be discussed at a later point.

The residence situation at the Air Strip is more complex than that in either satellite settlement. The households of previous miners and households from the more remote areas have moved there. Currently, there are twenty clearings. Their general locations

*177 • 592 621 around the air strip are diagramed in Figure 13. House structures[4] continue to be located in cultivated fields in which the resident adult men have apportioned sections. The composition of these clearings illustrate different stages of a man's career recruiting sons-in-law, different employment experiences, and different temporary cooperative arrangements. Accordingly, these twenty clearings can be divided into three categories.

The most simple of these categories consists of a single household comprising two generations. The husband-father is mature enough so that he is no longer a dependent in another's clearing. Also, he has not been a partner in an employment situation in the last several [595] years. He has either one or two wives. In either case, his children [582] are not yet adults. However, with no other context for recruiting assistance, the oldest daughter in these households becomes a wife comparatively young, as early as seven years of age. The son-in-law [591] joins the household. For brief periods, the young couple may reside temporarily with the boy's parents. There are five examples of this type of household.

The second type of household at the Air Strip is more complex and is represented by nine cases. In each case, there are three generations present. Yet the household is still coterminous with the clearing. In seven cases, employment, either sporadic or more permanent, has resulted in the extension of the family to include either an adult son or son-in-law and his wife or wives and children. Other adult sons and daughters have left the household. Daughters in the third generation may be young wives themselves, but they are

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 114]

not mature enough to have children. Two other clearings are inhabited by households of this type that have moved in from the more remote settlements. In both cases, the families of a man and his son-in-law have moved as a unit to the Air Strip.

The third category is still more complex. In these cases, larger numbers of people are present which contributes to the ambiguity of household divisions. Four of these larger groups of relatives in a common clearing are clearly the result of the abandonment of the mine and the occurrence of new resources at the Air Strip. Kinsmen are temporarily allied for the move to the Air Strip from the mine as well as from the more remote areas. These kinship groups are laterally extended. In two cases they are composed of the nuclear families of brothers as well as their sons and sons-in-law. In two other cases, the sons and sons-in-law of a single man and all their wives and children are residing together. Among these groups, component units of a man and his wife and children often left on extended trips either to a more remote settlement or to Matthew's Ridge. Usually, this was because agricultural fields around the air strip were not yet productive.

The two remaining examples in the third category are the clearings of the current Captain and the prominent Councillor. The Councillor is about fifty and has three wives of different ages. His household includes an adult son-in-law and son and his wives and children. In addition, an old porknocker long resident among the Upper Barama River Caribs lives in the Councillor's clearing. Holding office has served to extend the household of the current

Holding office has served to extend the household of the current Captain. He is about fifty and has two wives, one of whom he married as a widow and one who is very young. Extra adult members have been added by including a daughter of the older wife, and a daughter and granddaughter of the Captain's stepmother. They have all brought a son-in-law into this extended household. In this last case, as in all these residential arrangements, there is no promise of inheritance or other legacy beyond the situation to hold extended households together.

External resources have resulted in centralized settlements within which kinship groups residing in different clearings tend to be closed resource-sharing social units. For the most part, the clearings are inhabited by single households composed of extended families. In no case are individuals or young, childless couples living alone. Co-residence may be considered an index of extended cooperation and sharing of resources. Men who reside in the same clearing have partnerships in cultivated fields which along with hunting and gathering and occasional employment are the major sources of subsistence since the closing of the gold mine. The pattern of more extended reciprocity which existed prior to the availability of external resources has been changed. No longer is there any marked occurrence of the exchange of assistance among groups of men who are brothers or parallel cousins. In the cases in which adult brothers are in co-residence, usually their father is also present. Men in much more circumscribed relationships; i.e., father, son, son-in-law, now tend to cooperate in securing subsistence from local as well as external resources. Within the pattern of trans-generational recruitment,

*177 159 323 she is a dependent widow and lives with her two daughters and son-in-law in his father's clearing. Her pots are particularly noted for being lopsided, making them easy to identify. She was the first to attempt to locate a suitable clay source at the Air Strip. She makes only tuluwas and has sold four at the Air Strip. Three were sold for the use of the mother of the man in whose clearing she resides and one for his sister.

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*177 593 431 The only cases in which pots were presented as gifts between clearings involve exchanges between mother and adult daughter. These are actual mother and daughter pairs. Classificatory relatives are not included. These gifts were made in four cases during the period of observation and are an aspect of the sustained generalized reciprocity between mother and adult child in different clearings. Exchanges between mother and adult son usually involve food. However, these exchanges are not formalized in any way and they do not always occur between specific mother and child pairs.

*177 592 [621] In sum, the pattern of cooperation among adult individuals residing in the same settlement has been eroded by the introduction of wage work, other markets, and a money economy. The household composed of an adult man and his wife or wives and children remains the primary cooperative economic unit. However, the household has been extended in various instances to include the adult son or son-in-law and their families. The sustained flow of mutual assistance among a wider circle of kinsmen no longer exists as a common pattern.

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*177 476 624 There is one exception to this pattern which has relevance only in its situational context. As the miners re-established bush farms,

2: Adams E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1973 SR9 Carib SR9
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of external resources. Larger numbers of people have come to live near each other without immediate cooperative bonds. Visiting commonly takes place during *cassiri* sprees which now last a number of hours rather than the several days reported by Gillin (1936:65). Among neighbors, contacts depend on the inclination and personalities of the people involved. This aspect of community life is foreshadowed in the school experience[7] of the children. They are brought together in age categories to learn, play, and form relationships on an associational basis. More permanently settled in centralized locations, the Upper Barama River Carib population has become organized as a local, small-scale society within the overarching national political economy.

However, the resource base on which this population depends remains fluid. For the majority of people, external resources are not reliable. Thus, agriculture in rain forest soil remains a prerequisite for permanent settlement. The encapsulation of this population relative to transportation and communication networks and the lack of resource-storing mechanisms have already been discussed. As a consequence, the Upper Barama River Carib population utilizes all resources for the subsistence they provide. Institutional elaboration among this population is absent. Instead, the household, albeit changed in composition in some cases, has remained the primary cooperative social unit. It is the smallest unit capable of securing a livelihood in the ubiquitous rain forest. Such organization has been maintained throughout the flux in regional contacts and external resources. The continued emphasis on the individual within the household context is reflected in the kinship system.

merged as one category. With the economic isolation of households, these people are no longer living and working together. The replacement of individuals in these categories no longer appears to be a compelling demand of the organization for subsistence. Mortality has been greatly reduced by medical programs and external subsistence resources. Divorce now tends to occur only as a casual event among very young couples. Consequently, no current data on the practice of the levirate and the sororate is available. Sororal polygyny does occur. Among the established marriages among the Air Strip population, there are thirty-eight monogamous unions. Of the sixteen plural marriages consisting of a man and two wives, twelve are cases of sororal polygyny. There are two groups of a man and three wives. In one case, two of the wives are sisters. In such families, the children tend to continue to call their mother's sister "mother."

The replacement of broad generational bonds with more circumscribed trans-generational bonds is evident in the separate designation of the individuals in the first ascending generation. It is also apparent in ego's generation. For the male ego, mother's sister's son, whether or not he is a half sibling, is placed among the three middle generations depending on his age relative to ego. If this person is older, even a year or so, he is designated mother's brother.[9] If he is about the same age or a little younger, he is called little brother. An individual in this relationship who is a year or more younger is called nephew. The kinship categories for independent and dependent partners in the relationship between ego and mother's sister's son are provided. Previously, associational ties existed

000 been considered.

*177 476 439 To summarize, the extent of generalized reciprocity and, conversely, immediate exchange involving labor and material goods have been used to identify resource-sharing social units among the Upper

*177 621 Barama River Carib population. Over time, the resource-sharing boundaries have changed. In a position of relative isolation in the rain forest when Gillin studied them, the Upper Barama River Caribs evidence no pattern of material exchanges outside the settlement. This was a social unit fluctuating in location, size of population, as well as life span. Within settlements, further organization consisted of clearings and, within clearings, households. People resident in settlements tended to consist of a category of cooperating kinsmen. Among them, the exchange of labor and the sharing of tools and food was patterned on a generalized basis. Since the introduction of wage employment and other regional markets, the population has become centralized by participation in common regional networks of

*177 • 592 439 exchange. Settlements have tended to become more permanent and larger in population size. Households have tended to become separated from ties of generalized reciprocity with a wider kinship group. Exchanges directly between Carib households are now conducted with money or

*177 621 other immediate payments. However, there are no permanent stores of resources to support corporate organization or other institutional elaboration, and this population has been politically organized only to the extent that a local administrative structure has been imposed.

*177 602 Among the Upper Barama River Caribs, aspects of the regional networks of exchange have promoted certain kinship ties and dissolved others.

*177 subsistence agriculturalists but release labor for market endeavors
184 involving local commodities. The Caribs of Mamo in Venezuela are
594 singularly organized as nuclear families. These people have had
*177 opportunities for direct employment in industry. In no case are
101 these other Carib populations as impacted as the Upper Barama River
184 Carib population relative to access to regional transportation and communication and dependent on specific middlement to convey the
*177 limited market opportunities. Markets for employment and local
592 commodities have involved the Upper Barama River Caribs. However, the conditions under which market opportunities have been available have tended to separate households as well as extend them in specific cases in which client employment relationships with a middleman patron have been generated.

In conclusion, local and external resources in the context of their availability and the extent of their convertibility, or lack of it, into other forms have combined to produce the economic environment of the Upper Barama River Carib population. Clearly, aspects of social organization and changes in them, as detailed, are related to resource opportunities. With the transience of local as well as external resources, the unit of social organization which has persisted is the household.

2: Adams E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1973 SR9 Carib SR9
(1932-1971) Barama River

VI

CONCLUSIONS

In the previous chapters, attention has been given to the correlations over time of resources available for exploitation and the size and organization of a single population. The economic and reproductive adjustments of the Upper Barama River Caribs have been investigated. In their specific pathway from relative isolation in the rain forest into a national political economy, social organization and population size have been related to resource development. As this population has been centralized by common participation in networks of regional exchange, the household has emerged as the resource-sharing social unit. Ties of general reciprocity with a wider kinship group have tended to be dissolved. Another type of organization which has emerged to consolidate advantage in the regional economy has been client relationships with a middleman patron. In addition, external sources of food and clothing and medical care have tended to override relationships between population size and adaptation to local rain forest resources. An accelerating rate of population growth is currently evident among the Upper Barama River Caribs. In short, this population has evidenced changes in organization and increased population size under the conditions of its national integration.

Adapting to the rain forest, the Upper Barama River Carib population participated in the direct organism-to-organism cycling of